ANNOTATIONS

BY

SAM. JOHNSON & GEO. STEEVENS,

AND

THE VARIOUS COMMENTATORS,

UPON

KING HENRY VI.

PART II.

WRITTEN BY

WILL. SHAKSPERE.

——SIC ITUR AD ASTRA.

VIRG.

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ANNOTATIONS

UPON

KING HENRY VI.

PART II.

SECOND PART, &c.] This and the third part were first written under the title of *The Contention of York and Lancaster*, printed in 1600, but since vastly improved by the author. POPE.

It appears from the books of the Stationers' Company, that this play, &c. was entered by Tho. Millington, March 12, 1593. It was altered by *Crowne*, and acted in the year 1681. STEEVENS.

ACT I.

Line 1. *AS by your high*, &c.] Vide *Hall's Chronicle*, fol. 66, year 23, init. POPE.

It is apparent that this play begins where the former

mer ends, and continues the series of transactions of which it presupposes the First Part already known. This is a sufficient proof that the Second and Third Parts were not written without dependance on the First, though they were printed as containing a complete period of history. JOHNSON.

3. *As procurator to your excellence*, &c.] So, in Holinshed, p. 625. "The marquesse of Suffolk, as procurator to king Henrie, espoused the said ladie in the church of Saint Martins. At the which marriage were present the father and mother of the bride; the French king himself that was uncle to the husband, and the French queen also that was aunt to the wife. There were also the dukes of Orleance, of Calabre, of Alanson, and of Britaine, seaven earles, twelve barons, twenty bishops," &c. STEEVENS.

25. *The mutual conference*——] I am the bolder to address you, having already familiarized you to my imagination. JOHNSON.

28. ——*alder-liefest*——] Is a corruption of the German word *alder-liebste*, beloved above all things.

The word is used by Chaucer; and is put by Marston into the mouth of his Dutch courtezan:

"O mine *alder liefest* love."

Again,

"——pretty sweetheart of mine *alder-liefest* affection."

Again, in Gascoigne:

"——and to mine *alder-lievest* lord I must indite."

STEEVENS.

104. *This peroration with such circumstance?*] This speech

speech crowded with so many instances of aggravation.

JOHNSON.

143. ——*Bickerings.*] To *bicker* is to *shirmish*. In the ancient metrical romance of *Guy E. of Warwick*, bl. l. no date, the heroes consult whether they should *bicker* on the walls, or descend to battle on the plain. Again, in the genuine ballad of *Chevy Chace*,

" Bomen *bickarte* upon the bent,
" With their browd aras cleare."

Again, in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Song IX.

" From *bickering* with his folk to keep us Britains back."

Again, in the *Spanish Masquerado*, by Greene, 1589: " ——sundry times *bickered* with our men, and gave them the foyle." Again, in Holinshed, p. 537: " At another *bickering* also it chanced that the Englishmen had the upper hand." Again, p. 572: " At first there was a sharp *bickering* betwixt them, but in the end victorie remained with the Englishmen." *Levi pugna congredior*, is the expression by which Barrett in his *Alvearie*, or *Quadruple Dict.* 1580, explains the verb to *bicker*. STEEVENS.

215. ——*on a* tickle *point*,——] *Tickle* is very frequently used for *ticklish* by poets contemporary with Shakspere. So Heywood, in his *Epigrams on Proverbs*, 1562:

" Time is *tickell*, we may matche time in this,
" For we be even as *tickell* as time is."

Again, in the *Spanish Tragedy*, 1605:

" Now stands our fortune on a *tickle* point."

Again, in *Soliman and Perseda*, 1599:

" The rest by turning of my *tickle* wheel."

STEEVENS.

234. ——*the prince's heart of Calydon.*] Meleager.

STEEVENS.

316. Whereas *the king and queen do mean to hawk.*] *Whereas* is the same as *where*; and seems to be brought into use only on account of its being a dissyllable. So, in *Marius and Sylla*, 1594:

" But see *whereas* Lucretius is return'd.

" Welcome, brave Roman!"

The word is several times used in this piece, as well as in some others; and always with the same sense.

Again, in the 51st sonnet of Lord *Sterline*, 1604:

" I dream'd the nymph, that o'er my fancy reigns,

" Came to a part *whereas* I paus'd alone."

Again, in the *Tryal of Treasure*, 1567:

" *Whereas* she is resident, I must needs be."

Again, in Daniel's *Tragedy of Cleopatra*, 1599:

" That I should pass *whereas* Octavia stands,

" To view my misery," &c. STEEVENS.

340. Elean. *It is enough*, &c.] This speech stands thus in the old quarto:

" *Elean.* Thanks, good sir John,

" Some two days hence I guess will fit our time;

" Then see that they be here.

" For now the king is riding to St. Alban's,

" And all the dukes and earls along with him.

" When

" When they be gone, then safely may they come,
" And on the backside of mine orchard here
" There cast their spells in silence of the night,
" And so resolve us of the thing we wish :——
" Till when, drink that for my sake, and farewell." STEEVENS.

258. ——*A crafty knave does need no broker* ;] This is a proverbial sentence. See Ray's *Collection*. STEEVENS.

365. *Sort how it will*,——] Let the issue be what it will. JOHNSON.

368. ——*in the quill.*] This may mean, with great exactness and observance of form, or with the utmost punctilio of ceremony. The phrase seems to be taken from part of the dress of our ancestors, whose ruffs were *quilled*. While these were worn, it might be the vogue to say, such a thing is in the *quill*, *i. e.* in the reigning mode of taste. TOLLET.

To this observation I may add, that after printing began, the similar phrase of a thing being *in print* was used to express the same circumstance of exactness. " All this," (declares one of the quibbling servants in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*) " I saw *in print*, for in print I found it." STEEVENS.

Deliver our supplications in quill.] This may be supposed to have been a phrase formerly in use, and the same with the French *en quille*, which is said of a man, when he stands upright upon his feet without stirring from the place. The proper sense of *quille* in the French

French is a nine-pin; and, in some parts of England, nine-pins are still called *cayls*; which word is used in the statute 33 *Hen.* VIII. c. ix. *Quelle* in the old British language also signifies any piece of wood set upright. HAWKINS.

395. *That my* mistress *was?*——] Rather, that my *master* was? TYRWHITT.

452. ——lim'd *a bush for her*;] So, in *Arden of Feversham*, 1592:

"*Lime* your twigs to catch this weary bird."

Again, in the *Tragedy of Mariam*, 1613:

"A crimson *bush* that ever *limes* the soul."

STEEVENS.

461. ———*this late complaint*] That is, The complaint of Peter the armourer's man against his master, for saying that York was the rightful king. JOHNSON.

468. ———*be deny'd*———] The folio reads *denay'd*. I have noted the variation only to observe, that the one word is frequently used for the other among the old writers. STEEVENS.

481. ——— *his censure:*——] Through all these plays *censure* is used in an indifferent sense, simply for judgment or opinion. JOHNSON.

506. *I'd set my* ten commandments *in your face.*] So, in *Westward Hoe*, 1607:

"—your harpy has *set his ten commandments* on my back."

Again, in *Selimus Emperor of the Turks*, 1638:

"I

" I would set a tap abroach, and not live in fear of my wife's *ten commandments*."

Again, in *The Play of the Four P's*, 1569:

" Now ten times I beseech him that hie sits,
" Thy wives x *com.* may serche thy five wits."

STEEVENS.

511. *Exit* Eleanor.] The quarto adds, after the exit of Eleanor, the following:

" *King.* Believe me, love, that thou wert much to blame.
" I would not for a thousand pound in gold,
" My noble uncle had been here in place.
" See, where he comes! I am glad he met her not."

STEEVENS.

554. *By these ten bones*, &c.] We have just heard a dutchess threaten *to set her ten commandments* in the face of a queen. The jests in this play turn rather too much on the enumeration of fingers.

This adjuration is, however, very ancient. So, in the mystery of *Candlemas-Day*, 1512:

" But by their *bonys ten*, thei be to you untrue."

It occurs likewise more than once in the morality of *Hyske Scorner*. Again, in *Monfieur Thomas*, 1637:

" By these *ten bones*, sir, by these eyes and tears."

Again, in *The longer thou livest the more Fool thou art*, 1570:

" By these *tenne bones* I will, I have sworne."

STEEVENS.

577. K. Henry. *Then be it so*, &c.] These two lines I have inserted from the old quarto; and, as I think,

think, very necessarily. For, without them, the king has not declared his assent to Gloster's opinion: and the duke of Somerset is made to thank him for the regency before the king has deputed him to it.

THEOBALD.

After the lines inserted by Theobald, the king continues his speech thus:

———over the French;
And to defend our right 'gainst foreign foes,
And so do good unto the realm of France.
Make haste, my lord; 'tis time that you were gone:
The time of truce, I think, is full expir'd.

Som. I humbly thank your royal majesty,
And take my leave, to post with speed to France.

[*Exit Somerset.*

King. Come, uncle Gloster; now let's have our horse,
For we will to St. Albans presently.
Madam, your hawk they say is swift of flight,
And we will try how she will fly to-day.

[*Exeunt omnes.*

STEEVENS.

582. ——a *man*——] The words are not in the undated quarto. The first folio reads—"the spight *of man*." The second—"the spight of *my* man."

MALONE.

589. *Enter*, &c.] The quarto reads:

Enter Eleanor, Sir John Hum, Roger Bolingbrook a conjurer, and Margery Jourdain a witch.

Eleanor. Here, sir John, take this scroll of paper here,

Wherein

Wherein is writ the questions you shall ask:
And I will stand upon this tower here,
And hear the spirit what it says to you;
And to my questions write the answers down.

[*She goes up to the tower.*

STEEVENS.

604. *Deep night, dark night, the* silent *of the night.*] *Silent*, though an adjective, is used by Shakspere as a substantive. So, in *The Tempest*, the *vast* of night is used for the greatest part of it. The old quarto reads, *the silence of the night*. The variation between the copies is worth notice.

Bolingbroke makes a circle.

Bol. Dark night, dread night, the *silence* of the night,
Wherein the furies mask in hellish troops,
Send up, I charge you, from Cocytus' lake
The spirit Ascalon to come to me;
To pierce the bowels of this central earth,
And hither come in twinkling of an eye!
Ascalon, ascend! ascend!

In a speech already quoted from the quarto, Eleanor says, They have

——— cast their spells in *silence of the night*.

And in the ancient *Interlude of Nature*, bl. l. no date, is the same expression:

"Who taught the nyghtyngall to recorde besyly
"Her strange entunes in *sylence of the nyght?*"

Again, in the *Faithful Shepherdess* of Beaumont and Fletcher:

" Through still *silence of the night*,
" Guided by the glow-worm's light."

STEEVENS.

606. ——ban-dogs *howl*,] The etymology of the word *ban-dogs* is unsettled. They seem, however, to have been designed by poets to signify some terrifick beings whose office it was *to make night hideous*, like those mentioned in the first book and eighth satire of *Horace*:

" ——serpentes, atque videres
" *Infernas* errare *canes*." STEEVENS.

616. ——*that I had said and done!*] It was anciently believed that spirits, who were raised by incantations, remain'd above ground, and answer'd questions with reluctance. See both Lucan and Statius. STEEVENS.

625. *Than where castles mounted stand.*] I remember to have read this prophecy in some of our old chronicles, where, I think, it ran thus:

" Safer shall he be on sand,
" Than where castles mounted stand."

At present I do not recollect where. STEEVENS.

628. *False fiend, avoid!*] Instead of this short speech at the dismission of the spirit, the old quarto gives us the following:

" Then down, I say, unto the damned pool
" Where Pluto in his fiery waggon sits,
" Riding amidst the sing'd and parched smoaks,
" The road of *Dytas*, by the river Styx;
" There howle and burn for ever in those flames:——
" Zounds! we are betray'd!" *Dytas*

Dytas is written by mistake for *Ditis*, the genitive case of *Dis*, which is used instead of the nomninative by more than one ancient author.

So, in Thomas Drant's Translation of the fifth Satire of *Horace*, 1567:

" And by that meanes made manye soules lord
Ditis hall to seeke." STEEVENS.

643. *Lord Buckingham, methinks*, &c.] This repetition of the prophecies, which is altogether unnecessary, after what the spectators had heard in the scene immediately preceding, is not to be found in the first edition of this play. POPE.

658. *These oracles are* hardly *attain'd*,
And hardly understood.] Not only the lameness of the versification, but the imperfection of the sense too, made me suspect this passage to be corrupt. York, seizing the parties and their papers, says, he'll see the devil's writ; and finding the wizard's answers intricate and ambiguous, he makes this general comment upon such sort of intelligence, as I have restored the text:

Those oracles are hardily *attain'd*,
And hardly understood.

i. e. a great risque and hazard is run to obtain them and yet, after these *hardy* steps taken, the informations are so perplexed that they are *hardly* to be understood. THEOBALD.

ACT II.

Line 1. ——*FOR flying at the brook,*] The falconer's term for hawking at water-fowl. JOHNSON.

3. ——— *the wind was very high;*
And, ten to one, old Joan had not gone out.] I am told by a gentleman, better acquainted with falconry than myself, that the meaning, however expressed, is, that the wind being high, it was ten to one that the old hawk had flown quite away; a trick which hawks often play their masters in windy weather. JOHNSON.

——*old Joan had not gone out*, i. e. the wind was so high it was ten to one that old Joan would not have taken her flight at the game. PERCY.

The ancient books of hawking do not enable me to decide on the merits of such discordant explanations. It may yet be remarked, that the terms belonging to this once popular amusement were in general settled with the utmost precision; and I may at least venture to declare, that a mistress might have been kept at a cheaper rate than a falcon. To compound a medicine to cure one of these birds of worms, it was necessary to destroy no fewer animals than a *lamb*, a *culver*, a *pigeon*, a *buck*, and a *cat*. I have this intelligence from the *Booke of Hawkinge*, &c. bl. l. no date. This work

work was written by dame Julyana Bernes, prioress of the nunnery of Sopwell, near St. Alban's, (where Shakspere has fixed the present scene), and was first *prynted at Westmestre by Wynken de Worde*, 1496.

STEEVENS.

11. ——*to be aloft*,] Perhaps alluding to the adage:

"High-flying hawks are fit for princes."

See Ray's *Collection*. STEEVENS.

20. *Beat*, &c.] To *bait* or *beat (bathe)* is a term in falconry. JOHNSON.

To *bathe*, and to *beat*, or *bate*, are distinct terms in this diversion. To *bathe* a hawk was to wash his plumage. To *beat*, or *bate*, was to flutter with his wings. To *beat on a crown* is equivalent to an expression which is still used—*to hammer*, *i. e.* to work in the mind. Shakspere employs it in another play:

"Wilt thou still be *hammering* treachery?"

So, in Lylly's *Maid's Metamorphosis*, 1600:

"With him whose restless thoughts do *beat* on thee."

Again, in Doctor *Dodypoll*, 1600:

"Since my mind *beats on it* mightily."

Again, in *Herod and Antipater*, 1622:

"I feel within my cogitations *beating*."

STEEVENS.

To *beat* or *bate*, expresses that hovering flutter of a hawk, immediately before it pounces its prey.

HENLEY.

48. ——*Come with thy two-hand sword.*

Glo. *True, uncle,*

Are ye advis'd—the east side of the grove.

Cardinal, I am with you.] Thus is the whole speech placed to Gloster, in all the editions: but, surely, with great inadvertency. It is the cardinal who first appoints the east side of the grove: and how finely does it express rancour and impetuosity, for fear Gloster should mistake, to repeat the appointment, and ask his antagonist if he takes him right. THEOBALD.

The *two-handed sword* is mentioned by Holinshed, p. 833: "—And he that touched the tawnie shield should cast a spear on foot with a target on his arme, and after to fight with a *two-hand* sword." STEEVENS.

55. ———*my* fence *shall fail.*] *Fence* is the art of defence. So, in *Much Ado about Nothing:*

"Despight his nice *fence*, and his active practice." STEEVENS.

94. ———*who said*,—Saunder, &c.] The former copies:

———*who said*, Simon, *come:*

Come offer at my shrine, and I will help thee.

Why *Simon?* The chronicles that take notice of Gloster's detecting this pretended miracle, tell us, that the impostor, who asserted himself to be cured of blindness, was called *Saunder Simpcox*—*Simon* was therefore a corruption. THEOBALD.

It would seem better to read *Simpcox*; for which *Sim.* has in all probability been put by contraction in the player's MS. REMARKS.

171.

171. ——*lewdly bent,*] *Lewdly*, in this place, and in some others, does not signify *wantonly*, but *wickedly*. STEEVENS.

183. *Your Lady is forth-coming*——] That is, Your lady is in custody. JOHNSON.

248. *This Edmund, &c.*] In act II. scene 5, of the last play, *York*, to whom this is spoken, is present at the death of Edmund Mortimer in prison; and the reader will recollect him to have been married to Owen Glendower's daughter, in the *First part of King Henry IV.* REMARKS.

313. *Sorrow would solace, and mine age would ease.*] That is, Sorrow would have; sorrow requires solace, and age requires ease. JOHNSON.

322. *God and King Henry govern England's realm:*] The word *realm* at the end of two lines together is displeasing; and when it is considered that much of the scene is written in rhyme, it will not appear improbable that the author wrote, *govern England's helm.* JOHNSON.

So, in a preceding scene of this play:

"And you yourself shall steer the happy *helm*." STEEVENS.

335. *This staff of honour* raught——] *Raught* is the ancient preterite of the verb *reach*. STEEVENS.

339. *Lords, let him go.*——] *i. e.* Let him pass out of your thoughts. Duke Humphrey had already left the stage. STEEVENS.

348. ———*worse-bested,*] In a worse plight. JOHNSON.

350. ——*with a* sand-bag *fastened to it*:] As, according to the old laws of duels, knights were to fight with the lance and sword; so those of inferior rank fought with an ebon staff or battoon, to the farther end of which was fixed a bag cramm'd hard with sand. To this custom Hudibras has alluded in these humorous lines:

" Engag'd with money-bags, as bold
" As men with *sand-bags* did of old."

WARBURTON.

Mr. Sympson, in his notes on Ben Jonson, observes, that a passage in St. Chrysostom very clearly proves the great antiquity of this practice. STEEVENS.

354. ——*a cup of charneco.*] This was the name for a sort of sweet wine, as appears from a passage in a pamphlet intitled, *The Discovery of a London Monster, called the Black Dog of Newgate*, printed 1612: " Some drinking the neat wine of Orleance, some the Gascony, some the Bourdeaux. There wanted neither sherry, sack, nor *charneco*, maligo, nor amber-colour'd cando, nor liquorish ipocras, brown beloved bastard, fat aligant, or any quick spirited liquor."

WARBURTON.

In a pamphlet entitled, *Wit's Miserie, or the World's Madness*, printed in 1596, it is said, that " the only medicine for the fleghm is three cups of *charneco* fasting."

In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Wit without Money*:

" Where no old *charneco* is, nor no anchovies."

Again, in Deckar's *Honest Whore*, 1630, 2d Part:

" Imprimis,

" Imprimis, a pottle of Greek wine, a pottle of Peter sameene, a pottle of *charneco*, and a pottle of Ziattica."

Again, in the *Fair Maid of the West*, 1615:

" Aragoosa, or Peter-see-me, canary, or *charneco*." STEEVENS.

383. ——*as Bevis of Southampton fell upon* Ascapart.] I have added this from the old quarto. WARBURTON.

Ascapart,—the giant of the story——a name familiar to our ancestors, is mentioned by Dr. Donne:

" Those *Ascaparts*, men big enough to throw
" Charing-cross for a bar," *&c.* JOHNSON.

The figure of these combatants are still preserved on the gates of Southampton. STEEVENS.

385. ——*this knave's tongue begins to double.*] So, in Holinshed, whose narrative Shakspere has deserted, by making the armourer confess treason.

" ——When he should have come to the field fresh and fasting, his neighbours came to him, and gave him wine and strong drink in such excessive sort, that he was therewith distempered, and reeled as he went; and so was slain without guilt: as for the false servant, he lived not long," *&c.* STEEVENS.

394. *For, by his death, we do perceive his guilt:*] According to the ancient usage of the duel, the vanquished person not only lost his life but his reputation, and his death was always regarded as a certain evidence of his guilt. We have a remarkable instance of this in an account of the *Duellum inter Dominum Johannem*

Johannem Hannesly, & Robertum Katlenton, Armigerum, in quo Robertus fuit occisus. From whence, says the historian, "*magna fuit evidentia quod militis causa erat vera, ex quo mors alterius sequebatur.*" A Murimuth, ad ann. 1380, p. 149. BOWLE.

401. *Barren winter, with his wrathful nipping cold:*] Thus, in Sackville's Induction.

"The *wrathful winter* prochinge on a-pace."

REED.

402. ——*as seasons* fleet.] To *fleet* is to change. So, in *Antony and Cleopatra:*

"———now the *fleeting* moon

"No planet is of mine." STEEVENS.

407. *Uneath*——] *i. e.* Scarcely. POPE.

So, in the metrical romance of *Guy Earl of Warwick*, bl. l. no date:

"*Uneathes* we came from him certain,

"That he ne had us all slain."

Eath is the ancient word for *ease* or *easy*. So, in *Spenser's Faery Queene*, B. IV. c. 6:

"More *eath* was new impression to receive."

Uneath is commonly used by the same author for *not easily*. STEEVENS.

411. *With envious looks* still *laughing at thy shame;*] *Still*, which is not in the elder copies, was added in the second folio. MALONE.

430. *Mail'd up in shame.*——] Wrapped up; bundled up in disgrace; alluding to the sheet of penance. JOHNSON.

461. ———*any* scathe,] *Scathe* is harm, or mischief.

chief. Chaucer, Spenser, and all our ancient writers, are frequent in their use of this word.

STEEVENS.

466. *Thy greatest help is quiet,*——] The poet has not endeavoured to raise much compassion for the dutchess, who indeed suffers but what she had deserved. JOHNSON.

481. ——*the world may laugh*——] That is, The world may look again favourably upon me.

JOHNSON.

509. ——*I long to see my prison.*] This impatience of a high spirit is very natural. It is not so dreadful to be imprisoned, as it is desirable in a state of disgrace to be sheltered from the scorn of gazers.

ACT III.

Line 23. *ME seemeth*——] That is, it seemeth to me, a word more grammatical than *methinks*, which has, I know not how, intruded into its place.

JOHNSON.

44. ——*your grace's tale,*] Suffolk uses *highness* and *grace* promiscuously to the queen. *Majesty* was not the settled title till the time of king James the First. JOHNSON.

48. *Yet, by* reputing *of his high descent*] Thus the old

old copy. The modern editors read—*repeating*. *Reputing of his high descent*, is *valuing himself upon it*. The same word occurs in the 5th act:

"And in my conscience do *repute* his grace." &c.

STEEVENS.

87. *Cold news for me*; &c.] These two lines *York* had spoken before in the first act of this play. He is now meditating on his disappointment, and comparing his former hopes with his present loss. STEEVENS.

91. ——*this* gear——] *Gear* was a general word for things or matters. JOHNSON.

So, in the story of *King Darius*, an interlude, 1565:

"Wyll not yet this *gere* be amended,

"Nor your sinful acts corrected?" STEEVENS.

98. *Well, Suffolk*, yet——] *Yet* was added in the second folio. MALONE.

133. ——*these faults are* easy,——] *Easy* is slight, inconsiderable, as in other passages of this author. JOHNSON.

Easy for *easily*. REMARKS.

140. ——*all suspicion*;] The folio reads—*all suspence*.

Perhaps the author wrote—*suspect*. So, in a following scene:

"If my *suspect* be false, forgive me, God!"

STEEVENS.

164. ——*liefest*——] Is *dearest*. JOHNSON.

So, in Spenser's *Faery Queene*, B. II. c. 1.

"——Madam, my *lief*,

"For

" For God's dear love," &c.

Again, c. ii.

" ——Fly, oh my *liefest* lord." STEEVENS.

210. *And as the butcher takes away the calf,*
And binds the wretch, and beats it when it strays,]
It is common for butchers to tie a rope or halter about the neck of a calf when they take it away from the breeder's farm, and to beat it gently if it attempts to stray from the direct road. The duke of Gloster is borne away like the calf, that is, he is taken away upon his feet; but he is not carried away as a burthen on horseback, or upon men's shoulders, or in their hands. TOLLET.

223. *Free lords*, &c.] By this she means (as may be seen by the sequel) you, who are not bound up to such precise regards of religion as is the king; but are men of the world, and know how to live.

WARBURTON.

245. *'Tis York that hath more reason for his death.*]
York had more reason, because duke Humphrey stood between him and the crown, which he had proposed to himself as the termination of his ambitious views. So act III. sc. v.

" *For Humphrey being dead, as he shall be,*
" *And Henry put apart the next for me.*" STEEVENS.

See Mr. Fenn's Observations on the duke of Suffolk's death, in the collection of the *Paston Letters*. Vol. I. p. 48. HENLEY.

256. *No; let him die, in that he is a fox,*
By nature prov'd an enemy to the flock,

Before

Before his chaps he stain'd with crimson blood;
As Humphrey prov'd by reasons to my liege.] The meaning of the speaker is not hard to be discovered, but his expression is very much perplexed. He means that the Fox may be lawfully killed, as being known to be by nature an enemy to sheep, even before he has actually killed them; so Humphrey may be properly destroyed, as being proved by arguments to be the king's enemy, before he has committed any actual crime.

Some may be tempted to read *treasons* for *reasons*, but the drift of the argument is to shew that there may be *reason* to kill him before any treason was broken out. JOHNSON.

264. ——*for that is good deceit*
Which mates *him first, that first intends deceit.*]
Mates him, means *confounds* him; from *amatir* or *mater*, *French*. REMARKS.

272. ——*I will be his priest.*] I will be the attendant on his last scene, I will be the last man whom he will see. JOHNSON.

275. ——*and censure well the deed,*] That is, approve the deed, judge the deed good. JOHNSON.

281. *It skills not*——] It is of no importance. JOHNSON.

So, in Sir T. More's *Utopia*, translated by R. Robinson, 1624: "I will describe to you one or other of them, for *it skilleth* not greatly which." MALONE.

354. ——*mad bred flaw.*] *Flaw* is a sudden violent gust of wind. JOHNSON.

365.

365. *to*] Added by some modern editors. MALONE.

——*a wild Morisco,*] A Moor in a military dance, now called Morris, that is, a Moorish dance.

JOHNSON.

In *Albion's Triumph*, a masque, 1631, the seventh entry consists of *mimicks* or *Moriscos*.

Again, in Marston's *What you will*, 1607:

"Your wit skips a *Morisco*."

The *Morris-dance* was the *Tripudium Mauritanicum*, a kind of hornpipe. Junius describes it thus: "—faciem plerumque inficiunt fulgine, et peregrinium vestium cultum assumunt, qui ludicris talibus indulgent, ut Mauri esse videantur, aut e longius remotâ patriâ credantur advolasse, atque insolens recreationis genus advexisse."

In the churchwardens' accompts of the parish of St. Helen's in Abington, Berkshire, from the first year of the reign of Philip and Mary, to the thirty-fourth of Queen Elizabeth, the *Morrice* bells are mentioned. Anno 1560, the third of Elizabeth,—— "For two dossin of *Morres* bells." As these appear to have been purchased by the community, we may suppose this diversion was constantly practised at their public festivals. See the plate of *Morris-dancers* at the end of the first part of *K. Henry IV.* with Mr. Tollet's remarks annexed to it. STEEVENS.

383. *Scene II.*] This scene, and the directions concerning it, stand thus in the quarto edition;

Then the curtaines being drawne, Duke Humphrey is discovered in his bed, and two men lying on his brest, and smothering

smothering him in his bed. And then enter the Duke of Suffolk to them.

Suff. How now, sirs! what, have you dispatch'd him?

One. Aye, my lord; he's dead, I warrant you.

Suff. Then see the cloaths laid smooth about still,
That when the king comes, he may perceive
No other, but that he dide of his own accord.

2. All things is handsome, now my lord.

Suff. Then draw the curtains again, and get you gone,
And you shall have your firm reward anon.
[*Exeunt Murtherers.*

STEEVENS.

409. *I thank thee* &c.] In former editions:

I thank thee Nell, *these words content me much:*

This is king Henry's reply to his wife Margaret. There can be no reason why he should forget his own wife's name, and call her Nell instead of Margaret. As the change of a single letter sets all right. I am willing to suppose it came from his pen thus:

I thank thee. Well, *these words content me much.*

THEOBALD.

424. ——*right now*——] Just now, even now.

JOHNSON.

436. ———*Come, Basilisk,*
And kill the innocent gazer with thy sight:]

So, in *Albion's* England, B. 1. c. 3.

" ——As Æsculap an herdsman did espie
" That

" That did with easy fight enforce a *basilisk* to flye,
" Albeit naturally that beast doth murther with the eye." REED.

457. *Be woe for me,*——] That is, Let not woe be to thee for Gloster, but for me. JOHNSON.

460. *What, art thou, like the adder, waxen deaf?*] This allusion, which has been borrowed by many writers from the Proverbs of Solomon, and *Psalm* lviii. may receive an odd illustration from the following passage in *Gower de Confessione Amantis*, B. I. fol. x.

" A serpent, which that aspidis
" Is cleped, of his kinde hath this,
" That he the stone noblest of all,
" The whiche that men carbuncle call,
" Bereth in his heed above on hight;
" For whiche whan that a man by slight
" (The stone to wynne, and him to dante)
" With his carecte him wold enchante,
" Anone as he perceiveth that,
" *He lyeth downe his one eare all plat*
" *Unto the grounde, and halt it fast:*
" *And eke that other eare als faste*
" *He stoppeth with his taille so sore*
" *That he the wordes, lasse nor more,*
" *Of his enchantment ne hereth*:
" And in his wise himselfe he skiereth,
" So that he hath the wordes wayved,
" And thus his eare is nought deceived."

Shakspere has the same allusion in *Troilus and Cressida*:

" Have ears more *deaf* than adders, to the voice
" Of any true decision." STEEVENS.

467. ——*awkward wind*——] Thus the old copy. The modern editors read *adverse winds*. STEEVENS.

481. *The splitting rocks*, &c.] The sense seems to be this.—The rocks hid themselves in the sands, which sunk to receive them into their bosom. STEEVENS.

484. *Might in thy palace* perish *Margaret.*] The verb *perish* is here used actively. So, in the *Maid's Tragedy* by Beaumont and Fletcher:

" ————————let not my sins
" *Perish* your noble youth." STEEVENS.

500. *To sit and* watch *me, as Ascanius did,*
When he to madding Dido would unfold
His father's act commenc'd in burning Troy?]

The poet here is unquestionably alluding to Virgil (*Æneid I.*) but he strangely blends fact with fiction. In the first place, it was Cupid in the semblance of Ascanius, who sat in Dido's lap, and was fondled by her. But then it was not Cupid who related to her the process of Troy's destruction; but it was Æneas himself who related this history. Again, how did the supposed Ascanius sit and *watch* her? Cupid was ordered, while Dido mistakenly caressed him, to bewitch and infect her with love. To this circumstance the poet certainly alludes; and, unless he had wrote, as I have restored to the text,

To sit and witch *me*,————

why should the queen immediately draw this inference,

Am

Am I not witch'd *like her?* THEOBALD.

515. ——————*not Henry:*] The poet commonly uses Henry as a word of three syllables. JOHNSON.

536. *For seeing him I see my life in death.*] Though, by a violent operation, some sense may be extracted from this reading, yet I think it will be better to change it thus:

For seeing him, I see my death *in life.*

That is, Seeing him, I live to see my own destruction. Thus it will aptly correspond with the first line:

Come hither, gracious sovereign, view this body.

K. Henry. *That is to see how deep my grave is made.* JOHNSON.

——*I see my life in death.*] Surely the poet's meaning is obvious as the words now stand——*I see my life destroyed or endangered by his death.* PERCY.

545. *Oft have I seen a timely-parted ghost,*
Of ashy semblance, meager, pale, and bloodless,]

I cannot but stop a moment to observe, that this horrible description is scarcely the work of any pen but Shakspere's. JOHNSON.

This is not the first time that Shakspere has confounded the terms that signify *body* and *soul*, together. So, in the *Midsummer Night's Dream:*

" ——damned *spirits* all
" That in cross ways and floods have *burial.*"

STEEVENS.

617. *Thrice is he* arm'd *that hath his quarrel just;*] Perhaps our author had Marlowe's *Lust's Dominion* in his thoughts:

" Come, Moor, I am *arm'd* with more than complete steel,
" The *justice* of my *quarrel*." MALONE.

647. *The mortal* worm——] Serpents in general were anciently called *worms*. So, in the *Devil's Charter*, 1607, Pope Alexander says, when he takes off the aspicks from the young princes:

" How now, proud *worms*? how tastes yon princes' blood?" STEEVENS.

694. *Would curses kill, as doth the* mandrake's groan,] The fabulous accounts of the plant called a *mandrake*, give it an inferior degree of animal life, and relate, that when it is torn from the ground it groans, and that this groan being certainly fatal to him that is offering such unwelcome violence, the practice of those who gather mandrakes is to tie one end of a string to the plant, and the other to a dog, upon whom the fatal groan discharges its malignity. JOHNSON.

The same allusion occurs in *Aristippus, or the Jovial Philosopher*, by Randolph:

" This is the *mandrake's voice* that *undoes me*." STEEVENS.

705. ——*Poison be their drink!*] Most of these execrations are used in the very words of Shakspere by Lee, in his *Cæsar Borgia*, a. 4. STEEVENS.

707. ——*of* cypress *trees!*] *Cypress* was employed in the funeral rites of the Romans, and hence is always mentioned as an ill-boding plant. STEEVENS.

708. ——*murdering basilisks!*——*Lizards'* stings!]

It

It has been said of the *basilisk* that it had the power of destroying by a single glance of its eye. A *lizard* has no sting, but is quite inoffensive. STEEVENS.

717. *You bade me ban, and will you bid me leave?*] This inconsistency is very common in real life. Those who are vexed to impatience are angry to see others less disturbed than themselves; but when others begin to rave, they immediately see in them, what they could not find in themselves, the deformity and folly of useless rage. JOHNSON.

728. *That thou might'st think upon these by the seal,*
Through whom a thousand sighs, &c.] That by the impression of my kiss for ever remaining on thy hand, thou mightest think on those lips through which a thousand sighs will be breathed for thee. JOHNSON.

764. *Aye me, what is this world? what news are these?*] Instead of this line, the quarto reads:

Oh! what is wordly pomp? all men must die,
And woe am I for Beaufort's heavy end.

STEEVENS.

765. ——*at an hour's poor loss.*] I believe the poet's meaning is, *Wherefore do I grieve that Beaufort has died an hour before his time*, who being an old man, could not have had a long time to live? STEEVENS.

778. Where, *from thy sight*,——]. In the preambles of almost all the statutes made during the first twenty years of queen Elizabeth's reign, the word *where* is employed instead of *whereas*. It is so used here. MALONE.

781.

781. ——*turn thy flying soul,*] Perhaps Mr. Pope was indebted to this passage in his *Eloisa to Abelard*, where he makes that votarist of exquisite sensibility say,

" See my lips tremble, and my eye-balls roll,
" Suck my last breath, and catch my *flying soul.*"

STEEVENS.

787. *Away! though parting be a fretful* corrosive,] This word was generally, in our author's time, written, and, I suppose, pronounced *corsive*; and the metre shews that it ought to be so printed here. So, in *The Spanish Tragedy*, 1605:

" His son distrest, a *corsive* to his heart."

Again, in *The Alchymist*, by Ben Jonson, 1610:

" Now do you see that something's to be done
" Beside your beech-coal and your *corsive* waters."

Again, in an *Ode* by the same:

" I send not balms nor *corsives* to your wound."

MALONE.

791. *I'll have an Iris*——] Iris was the messenger of Juno. JOHNSON.

So, in *All's Well that End's Well:*

" ———this distemper'd messenger of wet,
" The many-colour'd Iris———." STEEVENS.

799. *Enter king Henry*, &c.] The quarto offers the following stage directions: *Enter King and Salisbury, and then the curtaines be drawne, and the cardinal is discovered in his bed, raving and staring as if he were mad.* STEEVENS.

826. *Hold up thy hand*——] Thus in the spurious play of *K. John*, 1611, Pandulph sees the king dying, and says:

"Then, good my lord, if you forgive them all,
"*Lift up your hand*, in token you forgive."

Again:

"*Lift up thy hand*, that we may witness here,
"Thou diest the servant of our Savour Christ:—
"Now joy betide thy soul!"

This *K. John* was first published in 1591. STEEVENS.

829. *Forbear to judge*, &c.]

"Peccantes culpare cave, nam libimur omnes,
"Aut summus, aut fuimus, vel possumus esse quod hic est." JOHNSON.

831 *Exeunt.*] This is one of the scenes which have been applauded by the criticks, and which will continue to be admired when prejudice shall cease, and bigotry give way to impartial examination. These are beauties that rise out of nature and of truth; the superficial reader cannot miss them, the profound can image nothing beyond them. JOHNSON.

ACT IV.

Line 1. *FIGHT at sea.*] Perhaps Ben Jonson was thinking of this play, when he put the following declaration into the mouth of Morose in the *Silent Woman*:

Woman: "Nay, I would sit out a play that were nothing but *fights at sea*, drum, trumpet, and target."

STEEVENS.

The gaudy, blabbing,—day,] The epithet *blabbing*, applied to the day by a man about to commit murder, is exquisitely beautiful. Guilt is afraid of light, considers darkness as a natural shelter, and makes night the confidante of those actions which cannot be trusted to the *tell-tale day* JOHNSON.

———remorseful *day.*] *Remorseful* is pitiful.

STEEVENS.

3. ——*the jades*
That drag the tragic melancholy night,
Who with their drowsy, slow, and flagging wings
Clip dead men's graves,——] The wings of the jades that drag night, appears an unnatural image, till it is remembered that the chariot of the night is supposed, by Shakspere, to be drawn by dragons.

JOHNSON.

21. *Nor can those lives*——] The old copy reads *the lives of those.* STEEVENS.

29. *Look on my* George,——] In the first edition it is my ring. WARBURTON.

35. ——*by* Water——] So, in queen Margaret's letter to this duke of Suffolk, by Michael Drayton:

"I pray thee, Poole, have care how thou dost pass,
"Never the sea yet half so dangerous was,
"And one foretold, by *water* thou should'st die," &c.

A note

A note on these lines says, "The witch of Eye received answer from her spirit, that the duke of Suffolk should take heed of *water*." See the fourth scene of the first act of this play. STEEVENS.

48. *Jove some time went disguis'd*, &c.] This verse is omitted in all but the first old edition, without which what follows is not sense. The next line also:

Obscure and lowly swain, king Henry's blood,

was falsly put in the Captain's mouth. POPE.

50. ——*lowly swain,*——] The quarto reads *lowsy swain.* STEEVENS.

52. ——*such a jaded groom.*] This epithet seems to me so strange, that I suspect some corruption. The quarto reads either *lady*-groom, or *jady*-groom; it is difficult to say which. MALONE.

60. ——*abortive pride:*] Pride that has had birth too soon, pride issuing before its time. JOHNSON.

70. *Thou dar'st not*, &c.] In the quarto edition the passage stands thus,

Suf. Thou dar'st not for thy own.
Cap. Yes, Pole.
Suf. Pole!
Cap. Ay, Pole, puddle, kennel, sink, and dirt,
I'll stop that yawning mouth of thine.

I think the two intermediate speeches should be inserted in the text, to introduce the captain's repetition of *Poole*, &c. STEEVENS.

71. *Poole? Sir Poole? lord?*] The dissonance of this

this broken line makes it almost certain that we should read with a kind of ludicrous climax:

Poole? Sir Poole? lord Poole?

He then plays upon the name *Poole, kennel, puddle.*

JOHNSON.

81. ——*to* affy——] To *affy* is to betroth in marriage. So, in Drayton's *Legend of Pierce Gaveston:*

"In bands of wedlock did to me *affy*
"A lady," &c.

Again, in the 17th Song of the *Polyolbion:*

"———the Almaine emperor's bride
"Which after to the earl of Anjou was *affy'd.*"

STEEVENS.

108. *Being captain of a* pinnace,] A *pinnace* did not anciently signify, as at present, a man of war's boat, but a ship of small burthen. So, in *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. III. p. 118. "The king (James I.) naming the great ship, Trade's Increase; and the prince, a *pinnace* of 250 tons (built to wait upon her), Peppercorn." STEEVENS.

The complement of men on board a pinnace (or *spyner*) was about twenty five. See *Paston Letters*, Vol. I. p. 159. HENLEY.

109. *Than Bargulus the strong Illyrian pirate.*] Mr. Theobald says, "This wight I have not been able to trace, or discover from what legend our author derived his acquaintance with him." And yet he is to be met with in *Tully's Offices*; and the legend is the famous *Theopompus's History:* "*Bargulus Illyrius latro,*

de quo est apud Theopompum, magnas opes habuit," lib. ii. cap. 11. WARBURTON.

Dr. Farmer observes, that Shakspere might have met with this pirate in two translations. Robert Whytinton, 1533, calls him "Bargulus, a pirate upon the see of Illiry;" and Nicholas Grimald, about twenty-three years afterwards, "Bargulus the Illyrian robber."

Bargulus does not make his appearance in the quarto; but we meet with another hero in his room. The Captain, says *Suffolk*,

Threatens more plagues than mighty *Abradas*,
The great Macedonian pirate.

I know nothing more of this *Abradas*, than that he is mentioned by Greene in his *Penelope's Web*, 1601:

"*Abradas* the great Macedonian pirate thought every one had a letter of mart that bare sayles in the ocean." STEEVENS.

In Cotgrave's *Dictionary*, *Abbras*, is the name of a terrible gyant in the old Romants: whence, "Ce fier *Abbras*:" this kil-cow, skarecrow, bugbear, swash-buckler, horrible hackster. TOLLET.

118. Gelidus timor occupat artus:] *Ovid. de Tristibus*, 313. STEEVENS.

133. *Come, soldiers, shew what cruelty you can.*] Surely this line belongs to the next speech. No cruelty was meditated beyond decollation; and without such an introduction, there is an obscure abruptness in the beginning of *Suffolk*'s reply to the Captain. STEEVENS.

135. ——*bezonians.*] See a note on the 2d part of *Henry IV.* act v. scene iii.

" *Bisognoso*, is a mean low man."

So, in Sir *Giles Gooscap*, 1606:

" ——if he come to me like your *Besognio*, or your boor."

Again, in Markham's *English Husbandman*, p. 4.

" The ordinary tillers of the earth, such as we call husbandmen: in France peasants, in Spain *besonyans*, and generally the cloutshoe." STEEVENS.

136. *A Roman sworder*, &c.] *i. e.* Herennius a centurion, and Popilius Lænas, tribune of the soldiers. STEEVENS.

137. ——*Brutus*' bastard *hand*] Brutus was the son of Servilia, a Roman lady, who had been concubine to Julius Cæsar. STEEVENS.

139. *Pompey the great*;] The poet seems to have confounded the story of Pompey with some other. JOHNSON.

This circumstance might be advanced as a slight proof, in aid of many stronger, that our poet was no classical scholar. Such a one could not easily have forgotten the manner in which the life of Pompey was concluded. Pompey, however, is not in the quarto. Spenser likewise abounds with deviations from established history and fable. STEEVENS.

143. *There let his head*, &c.] Instead of this speech, the quarto gives us the following:

Cap. Off with his head, and send it to the queen,
And ransomless this prisoner shall go free,
To see it safe delivered unto her. STEEVENS.

An excellent letter of this unfortunate nobleman to his

his son, just before his own death, and many other interesting anecdotes respecting him, are preserved in the very curious collection of the *Paston Letters* just published by Mr. Fenn.—One, which relates the particulars of his murder, is here subjoined:

"*To the ryght worchipfull John Paston, at Norwich.*

"Ryght worchipfull S^r^. I recomaunde me to yow, and am right sory of that I shalle sey and have soo weshe this litel bill with sorwfulle terys that on ethes (*scarcely*) ye shalle reede it.

"As on Monday nexte after May (day 4th. *May*) ther come tydyngs to London that on Thorsday before (30th. of *April*) the Duke of Suff' come unto the costes of Kent full nere Dower with his ij shepes and a litel Spynn^r^ the qweche Spynn^r^ he sente with c^r^teyn Lett^rs to c^r^teyn of his trustid men unto Caleys warde to knowe howe he shuld be resceyvyd, and with hym mette a shippe callyd Nicolas of the Towre, with other shippis waytyng on hym, and by hem that were in the Spyner the maister of the Nicolas hadde knowlich of the Dukes amyng, and whanne he espyed the Dukes shepis he sent forth his bote to wete what they were, and the Duke hym selfe spakke to hem, and seyd he was be the Kyngs comaundement sent to Caleys ward, &c.

"And they seyd he moste speke with here mast^r^ and soo he w^t^ ij or iij of his men wente forth wyth hem yn here bote to the Nicolas, and whanne he come the mast^r^ badde hym welcom Traito^r^ as mē sey, and for-

th^r the maist^r desyryd to wete yf the Shepmen woldde holde with the Duke, and they sent word the wold not ynn noo wyse, and soo he was yn the Nicolas tyl Sa-t^rday next (2^d. *May*) folwyng.

"Soom sey he wrotte moche thenke to be delyurd to the Kynge, but that is not verily knowe, he hadde his Confesso^r with him, &c.

"And some sey he was arreyned yn the sheppe on here man^r upon the appechementes, and fonde gylty, &c.

"Also he asked the name of the sheppe, and whanne he knew it he remembred Stacy that seid if he myght eschape the daung^r of the Towr he shud be saffe, and than his herte faylyd hym for he thowght he was dyssevyd, and yn the syght of all drawyn ought of the grete Shippe yn to the Bote, and there was an Exe and a stoke and oon of the lewdeste (*meanest*) of the shippe badde hym ley down hys hedde and he shud be fair ferd wyth and dye on a swerd, and smotte of his hedde withyn halfe a doseyn strokes, and toke awey his Gown of russette and his Dobelette of velvet mayled, and leyde his body on the Sonds of Dover, and some sey his hedde was sette oon a pole by it, and hes men sette on the londe grette circōst^unce and prey [*that is*, as I understand it, after the most circumstancial proofs of their not being accessories with the Dūke, and intreaties to be discharged] and the Shreve of Kent doth weche the body and sent his Unde^r Shreve to the Juges to wete what to doo, and also to the Kenge whatte shalbe doo.

"Forther

" Forther I wotte notte but this fer is y^t yf the p's (*procsss*) be erroneo^s lete his concell reu^rse it," &c.

This letter was written on Tuesday 5 of May 1450, & in the 28 of Henry VI.

Mr. Fenn adds, that " the Duke's body was taken from Dover Sands, and carried to the Collegiate Church of Wingfield in Suffolk, where it lies interred under an altar tomb, in the Chancel, with his effigies in armour, painted, gilt, &c. carved in wood, lying on it. It is remarkably well executed, as is that of Alice his wife likewise, which lies at his right hand.

See Mr. Fenn's observations on the preceding narrative, in the *Collection of the Paston Letters*, Vol. I. p. 48. HENLEY.

149. ——*get thee a sword,*——] The quarto reads —*put a long staff in thy pike*, &c. STEEVENS.

152. Jack Cade &c.] See a curious and authentick account of Cade and his proceedings in Fenn's Collection of the *Paston Letters*, Vol. I. p. 55, &c. HENLEY.

182. ——*a cade of herrings.*] *i. e.* a barrel of herrings. I suppose the word *keg*, which is now used, is *cade* corrupted. JOHNSON.

Nash speaks of having weighed one of Gabriel Hervey's books against *a cade of herrings*, and says, " That the rebel Jack Cade was the first that devised to put redde herrings in *cades*, and from him they have their name." *Praise of the Red Herring*, 1599. STEEVENS.

183. ——*our enemies shall fall before us,*——] He

alludes to his name *Cade*, from *cado*, Lat. *to fall*. He has too much learning for his character. JOHNSON.

We John Cade, &c.] This passage, I think, should be regulated thus:

Cade. We John Cade, so term'd of our supposed father, for our enemies shall fall before us;———

Dick. Or rather of stealing a cade of herrings.

Cade. Inspired with the spirit, &c. TYRWHITT.

196. ——*furr'd pack*,——] A wallet or knapsack of skin with the hair outward. JOHNSON.

213. ——*the* three-hoop'd *pot shall have ten* hoops;] In the *Gulls Horn-Booke*, a satirical pamphlet by Deckar, 1609, *hoops* are mentioned among other drinking measures: "—his *hoops*, cans, half-cans," &c. And, in Nash's *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication to the Devil*, 1595: "I believe *hoopes* in quart pots were invented to that end, that every man should take his *hoope*, and no more."

It appears from a passage in *Cynthia's Revels*, by Ben Jonson, that, "burning of Cans" was one of the offices of a city magistrate. I suppose he means burning such as were not of statutable measure. STEEVENS.

An anonymous commentator supposes, perhaps with more truth that "the burning of cans" was, marking them with a red-hot iron, which is still practised by the magistrate in many country burroughs, in proof of *their being* statutable measure.

These *cans*, it should be observed, were of *wood*. HENLEY.

219.

219. ——*there shall be no money*;] To mend the world by banishing money is an old contrivance of those who did not consider that the quarrels and mischiefs which arise from money, as the sign or ticket of riches, must, if money were to cease, arise immediately from riches themselves, and could never be at an end till every man was contented with his own share of the goods of life. JOHNSON.

246. *They use to write it on the top of letters*;] *i. e.* Of letters missive, and such like publick acts. See Mabillion's *Diplomata*. WARBURTON.

In the old anonymous play, called *The famous Victories of Henry V. containing the honourable Battle of Agincourt*, I find the same circumstance. The archbishop of Burges (*i. e.* Bruges) is the speaker, and addresses himself to king Henry:

" I beseech your grace to deliver me your safe
" Conduct, under your broad seal *Emanuel*."

The king in answer says,

" ——deliver him safe conduct
" Under our broad seal *Emanuel*." STEEVENS.

277. ——*I pass not*;] I pay them no regard. JOHNSON.

So, in Drayton's *Quest of Cynthia*:

" Transform me to what shape you can,
" I *pass not* what it be." STEEVENS.

351. *This monument of the victory will I bear*;——] Here Cade must be supposed to take off Stafford's armour. So, Holinshed:

" Jack

"Jack Cade, upon his victory against the Staffords, apparelled himself in Sir Humphrey's brigandine, set full of gilt nails, and so in some glory returned again toward London." STEEVENS.

355. *If we mean to thrive and do good,* &c.] I think it should be read thus, *If we mean to thrive, do good; break open the goals,* &c. JOHNSON.

374. *Rul'd, like a wand'ring planet,*——] Predominated irresistibly over my passions, as the planets over the lives of those that are born under their influence. JOHNSON.

438. *Knock him down there,*] So, in Holinshed, p. 634. "He also put to execution, &c. and other being his old acquaintance, lest they should bewraie his base lineage, disparaging him for his usurped name of Mortimer." STEEVENS.

446. *Matthew Gough*] "A man of great wit and much experience in feats of chivalrie, the which in continuall warres had spent his time in service of the king and his father." Holinshed, p. 635. STEEVENS.

452. ——*that the laws of England may come out of your mouth.*] This alludes to what Holinshed has related of *Wat Tyler*, p. 432. "It was reported, indeed, that he should saie with great pride, putting his hands to his lipps, that within four daies *all the lawes of England should come foorth of his mouth.*" TYRWHITT.

471. ———*thou* say, *thou serge*,——] *Say* was the old word for *silk*; on this depends the series of degradation, from *say* to *serge*, from *serge* to *buckram*.

JOHNSON.

So, in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, B. I. c. iv.

" All in a kirtle of discolour'd *say*
" He clothed was."

Again, in his *Perigot and Cuddy's Roundelay*:

" And in a kirtle of green *say*."

It appears, however, from the following passage in the *Faerie Queene*, B. III. c. ii. that *say* was not *silk*:

" His garment neither was of *silk* nor *say*."

STEEVENS.

482. ———*printing to be us'd*——] Shakspere is a little too early with this accusation. JOHNSON.

Shakspere might have been led into a mistake by Daniel, in the sixth book of his *Civil Wars*, who introduces *printing* and *artillery* as contemporary inventions:

" Let there be found two fatal instruments,
" The one to publish, th' other to defend
" Impious contention, and proud discontent;
" Make that *instamped characters* may send
" Abroad to thousands thousands men's intent;
" And in a moment may dispatch much more
" Than could a world of pens perform before."

Shakspere's absurdities may always be countenanced by those of writers nearly his contemporaries.

In the tragedy of *Herod and Antipater*, by Gervase, Mark-

Markham and William Sampson, who were both scholars, is the following passage:

"Though *cannons* roar yet you must not be deaf."

Spenser mentions *cloth* made at Lincoln during the ideal reign of K. Arthur, and has adorn'd a castle at the same period "with cloth of *Arras* and of *Toure*." Chaucer introduces *guns* in the time of Antony and Cleopatra, and (as Mr. Wharton has observed) Salvator Rosa places a *cannon* at the entrance of the tent of Holofernes. STEEVENS.

Mr. Meerman, in his *Origines Typographicæ*, hath availed himself of this passage in Shakspere, to support his hypothesis, that printing was introduced into England (before the time of Caxton) by Frederic Corsellis, a workman from Haerlem, in the time of Henry VI. BLACKSTONE.

488. ——*to call poor men before them about matters they were not able to answer.*] The quarto reads, with more humour,——"honest men that steal for their living." MALONE.

490. ——*because they could not read, thou hast hang'd them:*——] *i. e.* They were hanged because they could not claim the benefit of clergy. JOHNSON.

493. ——*Thou dost ride on a* foot-cloth,——] A *foot-cloth* was a horse with housings which reached as low as his feet. So, in the tragedy of *Muleasses the Turk*, 1610:

"I have seen, since my coming to Florence, the son of a pedlar mounted on a *foot-cloth*." STEEVENS.

495. ——*to let thy horse wear a cloak,*——] This is a reproach truly characteristical. Nothing gives so much offence to the lower ranks of mankind as the sight of superfluities merely ostentatious. JOHNSON.

502. ——*bona terra, mala gens.*] After this line the quarto proceeds thus,

Cade. Bonum terrum, what's that?

Dick. He speaks French.

Will. No, 'tis Dutch.

Nick. No, 'tis Outalian: I know it well enough.

Holinshed has likewise stigmatized the Kentish men, p. 677." The *Kentish-men,* in this season (whose minds be ever movable at the change of princes) came," &c. STEEVENS.

507. *Is term'd the civil'st place of all this isle:*] So, in Cæsar's *Comment.* B. V. " Ex his omnibus sunt humanissimi qui *Cantium* incolunt." The passage is thus translated by Arthur Golding, 1590: " Of all the inhabitants of this isle, the *civilest* are the Kentish-foke." STEEVENS.

515. *When have I aught exacted at your hands?*
Kent to maintain, the king, the realm, and you,
Large gifts have I bestow'd on learned clerks,
Because my book preferr'd me to the king.] This passage I know not well how to explain. It is pointed so as to make *Say* declare that he preferred clerks to maintain Kent and the king. This is not very clear; and, besides, he gives in the following line another reason of his bounnty, that learning raised him, and therefore

therefore he supported learning. I am inclined to think Kent slipped into this passage by chance, and would read:

When have I aught exacted at your hand,
But *to maintain the king, the realm and you?*

JOHNSON.

I concur with Dr. Johnson in believing the word *Kent* to have been shuffled into the text by accident. Lord *Say*, as the passage stands at present, not only declares he had preferred men of learning *to maintain Kent, the king, the realm*, but adds toutologically *you*; for it should be remembered that they are Kentish men to whom he is now speaking. I would read, *Bent* to maintain, *&c.* i. e. *strenuously resolved to the utmost, to*, &c. STEEVENS.

534. ——*the help of a hatchet*] We have here, as Dr. Farmer observed to me, a strange corruption. *The help of* a hatchet is little better than nonsense, and it is almost certain our author originally wrote *pap with* a hatchet; alluding to Lilly's pamphlet with the same title, which made its appearance about the time when this play is supposed to have been written. STEEVENS.

535. *Why dost thou quiver, man?* &c.] Otway has borrowed this thought in *Venice Preserved:*

" *Spinosa.* You are trembling, sir,
" *Renault.* 'Tis a cold night indeed, and I am aged.
" Full of decay and natural infirmities."

STEEVENS.

546.

546. *These hands are free from guiltless blood-shedding.*] The word *guiltless* was, I imagine, an interlineation in the MS. and has, I think, been inserted in a wrong place, I believe, we ought to read,

These hands are guiltless, free from blood-shedding. MALONE.

550. ——*he shall die, an it be but for pleading so well for his life.*] This sentiment is not merely designed as an expression of ferocious triumph, but to mark the eternal enmity which the vulgar bear to those of more liberal education and superior rank. The vulgar are always ready to depreciate the talents which they behold with envy, and insult the eminence which they despair to reach. STEEVENS.

551. ——*a* familiar *under his tongue*;] A *familiar* is a dæmon who was supposed to attend at call. So, in *Love's Lobour's Lost*:

"Love is a *familiar*; there is no angel but love." STEEVENS.

565. ——*shall pay to me her maidenhead*, &c.] Alluding to an ancient usage on which Beaumont and Fletcher have founded their play, called the *Custom of the Country*. See Mr. Seward's note at the beginning of it. See also Cowell's *Law Dict.* in voce *Marchet*, &c. &c. &c. STEEVENS.

570. ——*Take up commodities upon our bills?*] Perhaps this is an equivoque alluding to the *brown bills*, or halberds with which the commons were anciently armed. PERCY.

573. ——*Let them kiss one another*;] This is from

the *Mirrour for Magistrates*, in the legend of *Jack Cade:*

" With these two heads I made a pretty play,
" For pight on poales I bore them through the strete,
" And for my sport made *each kisse other* swete."

FARMER.

It is likewise found in Holinshed, p. 634. " and as it were in a spite caused them in every street *to kisse* together." STEEVENS.

632. *Henry hath money,*——] Dr. Warburton reads, *Henry hath mercy*; but he does not seem to have attended to the speaker's drift, which is to lure them from their present design by the hope of French plunder. He bids them spare England, and go to France, and encourages them by telling them that all is ready for their expedition; that they have *strength*, and the king has *money*. JOHNSON.

654. ——*I was made a king, at nine months old:*] So all the historians agree. And yet in Part I. p. 252, king Henry is made to say,

" I do remember how my father said," &c.

a plain proof that the whole of that play was not written by the same hand as this. BLACKSTONE.

I do not perceive any impropriety on this occasion. We all remember the sayings of people who died long before we were born. STEEVENS.

676. *Of* Gallow-glasses, *and stout* Kernes,] These were two orders of foot-soldiers among the Irish. See Dr. Warburton's note on the second scene of the first act of *Macbeth*. STEEVENS.

700.

700. *A garden in Kent*] Holinshed p. 635, says: "——a gentleman of Kent, named Alexander Eden, awaited so his time, that he tooke the said Cade in a garden in *Sussex*, so that there he was slaine at Hothfield," &c.

Instead of the soliloquy with which the present scene begins, the quarto has only this stage direction: *Enter Jack Cade at one doore, and the other M. Alexander Eyden and his men; and Jack Cade lies down picking of hearbes, and eating them.* STEEVENS.

710. ——*but for a sallet, my brain-pan*, &c.] A *sallet* by corruption from *cælata*, a helmet (says Skinner) *quia galeæ cælatæ fuerunt.* POPE.

So, in Sir Thomas North's translation of *Plutarch*, "——One of the company seeing Brutus athirst also, he ran to the river for water, and brought it in his *sallet*."

Again, *Ibid:* "Some were driven to fill their *sallets* and murrains with water."

Again, in *The longer thou livest the more fool thou art*, 1570:

"This will beare away a good rappe,
"As good as a *sallet* to me verilie." STEEVENS.

I do not see by what rules of etymology, *sallet* can be formed from *cælata*. Is it not rather a corruption from the French *salut*, taken, I suppose, from the scriptural phrase, the *helmet of salvation? Brain-pan*, for skull, occurs, I think in Wicliff's translation of Judges, xix. 53. WHALLEY.

752. *As for* more *words, whose greatness answers words,*
Let this my sword report what speech forbears.]
More has been added by some of the modern editors. It is not in the first or second folio. This passage is not in the quarto. MALONE.

767. ——*when I am dead:*] How Iden was to hang a sword over his own tomb, after he was dead, it is not easy to explain. The sentiment is more correctly expressed in the quarto:

Oh, sword, 'Ill honour thee for this, and in my chamber
Shalt thou hang, as a monument to after age,
For this great service thou hast done to me.

STEEVENS.

And hang thee, only means, *I will have thee hang*. The same kind of expression is found in *The Winter's Tale:* "If thou'lt see a thing *to talk on*, when thou art dead and rotten——" *i. e.* for people to talk on. MALONE.

775. *How much thou wrong'st me,——*] *i. e.* in supposing that I am proud of my victory. JOHNSON.

778. *So wish I, I might thrust thy soul to hell.*] The quarto is more favourable both to Iden's morality and language. It omits this savage wish, and makes him only add, after the lines I have just quoted:

I'll drag him hence, and with my sword.
Cut off his head, and bear it to the king.

The player editors seem to have preferred want of humanity and common sense, to fewness of lines, and defect of versification. STEEVENS.

ACT V.

Line 9. ——*BALANCE it*] *i. e.* Balance my hand. JOHNSON.

10. *A sceptre shall it have, have I a soul;*] I think *York* means to say—If I have a *soul*, my hand shall not be without a sceptre. STEEVENS.

81. *May Iden*, &c.] Iden has said before:

Lord! who would live turmoiled in a court,
And may enjoy, &c.

Shakspere makes Iden rail at those enjoyments which he supposes to be out of his reach; but no sooner are they offered to him but he readily accepts them. ANONYMOUS.

120. *Shall be their father's bail; and bane to those*] Considering how our author loves to play on words similar in their sound, but opposite in their signification, I make no doubt but the author wrote *bail* and *bale*. *Bale* (from whence our common adjective, *baleful*) signifies detriment, ruin, misfortune, &c. THEOBALD.

Bale signifies sorrow. Either word may serve. JOHNSON.

132. ——*a bedlam and ambitious humour*] The word *bedlam* was not used in the reign of king Henry the Sixth, nor was Bethlehem Hospital (vulgarly called Bedlam) converted into a house or hospital for lu-

naticks till the reign of king Henry the Eighth, who gave it to the city of London for that purpose. GREY.

146. ——*fell* lurking *curs:*] Mr. Roderick would read "fell *barking*;" the author of the *Revisal* "fell *lurching*;" but perhaps, by *fell lurking*, is meant curs who are at once a compound of *cruelty and treachery*. STEEVENS.

151. *Oft have I seen*, &c.] Bear-baiting was anciently a royal sport. See Stow's *Account of Queen Elizabeth's Amusements of this kind*; and Laneham's *Letter concerning that Queen's Entertainment at Kenilworth Castle*. PERCY.

The one of whom has adopted his description from the other. HENLEY.

200. ———*burgonet*,] Is a *helmet*. JOHNSON.

So, in the *Martyr'd Soldier*, 1638:

"———now tye

"Strong charms upon my full plum'd *burgonet*." STEEVENS.

202. ——*my father's* badge,——] The quarto reads—*age*. STEEVENS.

215. *Foul* stigmatick,] A *stigmatick* is one on whom nature has set a mark of deformity, or a stigma. STEEVENS.

243. *A dreadful lay!*] A dreadful wager; a tremendous stake. JOHNSON.

244. *La fin couronne les œuvres.*] The players read, *La fin corrone les eumenes*. STEEVENS.

York kills Clifford.] Our author has here departed from the truth of history, a practice not uncommon to

to him when he does his utmost to make his characters considerable. This circumstance, however, serves to prepare the reader or spectator for the vengeance afterwards taken by Clifford's son on *York* and *Rutland*.

It is remarkable, that, at the beginning of the third part of this historical play, the poet has forgot this occurrence, and there represents Clifford's death as it really happened:

" *Lord Clifford and Lord Stafford all abrest*
" *Charg'd our main battle's front, and breaking in,*
" *Were by the swords of common soldiers slain.*"

PERCY.

257. *And the* premised *flames*——] *Premised*, for sent before their time. The sense is, let the flames reserved for the last day be sent now. WARBURTON.

261. *To* cease!] Is to *stop*, a verb active. So, in *Timon:*

" ————be not *ceas'd*
" With slight denial———" STEEVENS.

262. ——*to atchieve*] Is, to obtain. JOHNSON.

263. *The silver livery of* advised *age*;] *Advised*, is *wise, experienced.* MALONE.

271. ——*to my flaming wrath be oil and flax.*] So, in *Hamlet:*

" To flaming youth let virtue be as wax,
" And melt in her own fire." STEEVENS.

279. The quarto copy has these lines,

Even so will I.—But stay, here's one of them,
To whom my soul hath sworn immortal hate.

Enter

Enter Richard, and then Clifford lays down his father, fights him, and Richard flies away again.

Out, crook'd-back'd villain! get thee from my sight!
But I will after thee, and once again
(When I have borne my father to his tent)
I'll try my fortune better with thee yet.

[*Exit young Clifford with his father.*

STEEVENS.

282. *So, lie thou there;*——
For, *underneath an ale-house' paltry sign,*
The Castle in saint Alban's, Somerset
Hath made the wizard famous——] The particle *for*, in the second line, seems to be used without any very apparent inference. We might read,

Fall'n *underneath an ale-house' paltry sign*, &c.

Yet the alteration is not necessary; for the old reading is sense, though obscure. JOHNSON.

Thus the passage stands in the quarto,

Rich. So lie thou there, and tumble in thy blood!
What's here? the sign of the Castle?
Then the prophecy is come to pass;
For Somerset was forewarned of castles,
The which he always did observe; and now,
Behold, under a paltry ale-house sign,
The Castle in saint Alban's, Somerset
Hath made the wizard famous by his death.

STEEVENS.

The quarto, though manifestly made out by the ear,

ear, by some unskilful short-hand writer, has generally something like the poet's sense, though seldom his words. The reading which it here exhibits induces me to think that a line was omitted at the press, when the folio was printing. It might have been of this purport:

Behold, the prophecy is come to pass;
For underneath, &c. MALONE.

285. ——*famous in his death.*——] The death of Somerset here accomplishes that equivocal prediction given by Jourdain, the witch, concerning this duke; which we met with at the close of the first act of this play:

" *Let him shun* castles:
" *Safer shall he be upon the sandy plains,*
" *Than where* castles mounted, *stand.*"

i. e. the representation of a *castle* mounted for a *sign.* THEOBALD.

303. ——*all our present* parts.] Should we not read ——*party?* THYRWHITT.

346. *Away, my lord, away!*] The quarto has given the king three lines before his exit:

Come then, fair queen, to London let us haste,
And summon up a parliament with speede,
To stop the fury of these dyre events.

MALONE.

309. ——*brush of time*;] Read *bruise* of time. WARBURTON.

The *brush of time*, is the gradual detrition of time.

The

The old reading I suppose to be the true one. So, in *Timon:*

" ———one winter's *brush.*" STEEVENS.

310. ——*gallant in the brow of youth,*] The *brow of youth* is an expression not very easily explained. I read *the blow of youth*; the blossom, the spring. JOHNSON.

The *brow of youth* is the *height* of *youth*, as the *brow* of a hill is its summit. So, in *Othello:*

" ———the head and *front* of my offending."

Again, in *K. John:*

" Why here walk I in the black *brow* of night." STEEVENS.

316. *Three times bestride him;*——] *i. e.* Three times I saw him fallen, and striding over him, defended him till he recovered. JOHNSON.

329. *Being opposites of such repairing nature.*] Being enemies that are likely so soon to rally and recover themselves from this defeat. MALONE.

THE END.

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